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CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

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Free Coinage of Gold and Silver.

Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.

Opposition to Trusts.

Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, i. e., The Initiative and Referendum.

NOTES OF THE WEEK.

ALL last spring and early summer the Democrats in Congress played politics. During the whole of the special session their guiding motto was stand aside and let the Republicans blunder. So they made no earnest opposition to the tariff bill that they declared to be iniquitous, they made no persistent effort to strip it of its most repugnant monopoly features although strenuous efforts in this direction would not unlikely have borne

fruit. Indeed, they made no concerted opposition on their own motion to the monopoly features of the tariff. They left it to a silver Republican, to Senator Pettigrew, to propose an anti-trust amendment, an amendment aiming to deprive all trusts and monopolies of the shelter of protective tariff duties. And when this amendment was proposed they only gave it a half-hearted support. They voted for it, for they could not help it, but this was all. It is indeed true that one or two amendments of similar import to the anti-trust amendment of Senator Pettigrew were proposed by Democratic Senators after the failure of the Pettigrew amendment. But earnest support of these amendments the Democratic Senators did not give, they did not make earnest effort to strip the tariff of its monopoly features. They seemed to desire that the tariff should be passed just as the Republicans wanted it and the worse it could be made so much the better.

Of course, if we attach weight to their words, they held that such tariff that they did not seriously oppose would be injurious to the weal of the country, they held that it would injure their constituents, but they made no consistent effort to avert the passage of the act in its most objectionable shape. They did not, on the ground that it was wise politics to let the tariff bill go through, just as the Republicans might want it, so that the country might have an uncolored object lesson of the futility of the Republican remedy for commercial and industrial stagnation. They did so because they believed that it would advance the fortunes of the Democratic party. And so they made no serious effort to avert the enactment of what they held to be injurious legislation, legislation that would not lighten the burdens of our people, but make them heavier, because they felt that the enactment of such legislation would redound to the benefit of their party.

THUS we had an instance of party being held above state, of representatives of the people holding the interests of their own party above the interests of the public, thinking more of the advancement of their party's fortunes and their own than they did of the fortunes of the nation. It is indeed possible for Democrats to find excuse for such sacrifice of public for party interests on the specious plea that the shortest and surest way to the attainment of what they regard as the true remedies for the evils that beset our people lies through an accentuation of the burdens resting upon our people and that therefore legislation, such as pushed by the Republicans and such as Democrats hold to be injurious, is to be adjudged as conceived for the best interests of our people.

But this sacrificing of public for party interests cannot in the long run redound to the advantage of those responsible for such practices. Men are not pleased to find parties playing politics, fencing for political advantage at the public expense. When our people see men putting party interests before public interests they are prone to lose faith in such men, are led to repose less not more confidence in the leadership of such men. In short, there is but one way for a party to secure and maintain the confidence of the people and that is to show itself worthy of such confidence.

And so it is that that which it is right to do it is the part of political wisdom to do. The party that does what is right will not fail, the party that shows a readiness to put its own political advancement before that which is right, a readiness to sacrifice public interests for supposed party interests cannot succeed.

So we cannot adjudge that the pursuit, by the Democrats and during the special session, of the policy of stand aside and let the Republicans blunder was the part of political wisdom. For the Democratic party to show itself without policy other than that of inaction was, from the narrow standpoint of party politics, unwise. Such inaction disgusted and repelled men who looked for action, it brought weakness to the Democratic party not strength. And now the Democrats seem inclined to continue this policy of inaction, this policy of blundering while waiting for the enemy to blunder, during the regular session of Congress that will get into full swing after the Christmas holidays. At least this is what the political tattle that finds place in our newspapers points to.

True, we should not put too much faith in this tattle, for so many newspaper scribes are observing the Christmas holidays that our papers have to resort to much padding of their news to fill out their columns. And so, much idle rumor is dished up to us, much is printed as news that turns out to be false. Consequently when we are told that the Democrats in the House do not want to have to take the responsibility of leadership in the next Congress, that pending the next Presidential election they would prefer to leave that responsibility with the Republicans, and that therefore they do not wish to wrest the control of the next House from the Republicans, we have our doubts. But that many Democrats may hope for such results, and would be better pleased with the next Congressional elections if they resulted in cutting down rather than overturning the Republican majority in the House, is very possible. That the majority of Democrats are still bent on the policy of inaction, still bent on avoiding the responsibility of leadership, is most probable. And showing no taste for positive action they evince an incapacity for leadership, show themselves unworthy of confidence.

Thus the Democrats are blundering in the worst possible way by their very inaction, by their very disinclination to propose action and so show a capability for leadership, and so they are blundering while waiting for the Republicans to blunder. So they are in no position to profit from the Republican blunders when such blunders are made. From mere passive resistance to Republican policies the Democrats will profit nothing. The party that waits to be shoved by public opinion and to be shoved pretty hard before moving cannot lead. And such a party is the Democratic party, or rather such is the character of the leaders of the Democratic party. Bound up with prejudices they will not move until shoved, and they who wait to be shoved cannot lead with success. Two years or so ago the concentration of public opinion by the Peoples Party forced these leaders of the Democratic party to move. But they are as much disinclined to move further now as they were disinclined then. The move to general advocacy of free silver coinage as a party doctrine has not freed them from their prejudices. Indeed, it has been well said that old parties are parties of great prejudices, new parties the parties of great principles.

It is only fair to say that the Democrats during the special session were not alone among those in opposition to the Republicans who deemed the best policy to be to stand aside and give the Republicans full swing. The free silver Republicans in the Senate were inclined to assume a passive attitude to the tariff bill. In the face of the premium on gold in silver using countries, a premium acting as a bounty on exports to gold using countries and built up by the demonetization of silver, they believed that

no tariff could extend such protection to our people as would bring prosperity, they believed that a tariff bill designed to be a protective measure would be a mere sham unless this premium on gold, this bounty on exports from silver using to gold using countries was torn down by restoring bimetalism at the old ratio and thereby the parity between gold and silver. So they believed that the tariff to be effective as a protective measure should carry an amendment providing for the re-opening of our mints to free silver coinage. But they made no effort to amend the bill in this way. They reasoned: let the Republicans have a free hand with their tariff bill so that the American people may have an object lesson of the futility of the Republican remedy for trade depression and industrial stagnation.

But standing passively by while this futile measure was passed, and making no serious effort to amend it, they are held, to a certain degree, responsible for its enactment. Pursuing a policy of inaction and waiting for Republicans to blunder, hoping that they, allied with the Democrats, may be swept on to success upon the wave of such blunders, they have repelled those who look for positive leadership, who hope to gain victory by aggressive action, who despair of gaining victory upon the blunders of opponents. Blunders the Republicans will doubtless make but their opponents cannot gain victory by lying back on their oars and waiting for those blunders to come, for if they do so lie back they will not be in position to take advantage of such blunders when they come. To take advantage of those blunders there must be positive and aggressive action and this action the Democrats refuse to take. Instead of taking such action they play at politics by inviting the Republicans on into blunders, into legislation injurious to our people.

And, as we have said, such playing at politics, such sacrificing of public interests for the advancement of party must repel support, it must fail to gather support. Yet it is continued playing at politics that we may expect to see on the part of the Democratic party. Thus we are told that Congressman Hinrichsen, of Illinois, late secretary of Governor Altgeld, is to be put at the head of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. And Mr. Hinrichsen is a Democrat of the party stripe, not of the lofty stripe of Governor Altgeld who puts country above party, principle above preferment for self or party. If we are not much mistaken Mr. Hinrichsen is a politician who is inclined to put success of party above all else, and with such a man at the head of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee we would have to expect a holding of principle subservient to what may be regarded as party expediency, a ready dropping of the silver issue in those Congressional districts where the gold Democrats have the balance of power.

THE Republicans who believe in subordinating principle to the interests of the party are also troubled. Mr. Gage is not a Republican of this stamp and he appears to be bent on driving the Republican party to an unequivocal stand in advocacy of the gold standard even though such driving may lead to a split in the party. It is only two weeks since Mr. Gage, in presenting his currency bill before the House Committee on Banking and Currency, came out with the flat footed declaration that the prime purpose of such bill was to commit the country more thoroughly to the gold standard, and by this declaration he raised the ire of Senator Chandler in the East, of Senator Wolcott and his followers from the West.

These followers of bimetalism in the Republican party strove hard to make it appear that Mr. Gage did not represent the administration, that his views in advocacy of the gold standard had not the approval of Mr. McKinley. And it is very probable that the President, ever striving to hide or stretch his principles so as to please everybody, did not care to give the unequivocal declaration of his secretary in favor of the gold standard his pronounced approval. But Mr. Gage, seemingly resolved to force

this approval, appears to have tendered his resignation to the President, so that the President might, by accepting such resignation, release himself from embarrassment if any was caused him by his secretary's remarks in favor of the gold standard. Of course the President, owing much to the great moneyed interests, would not have dared to avow his opposition by accepting this resignation even if he had desired to do so, and so he had to refuse Mr. Gage's resignation with an expression of confidence and approval of his secretary's course. And so to all appearances has Mr. Gage forced the President to an unequivocal approval of the gold standard. How Senator Chandler will take this and how Senator Wolcott will now act along with the half dozen free silver Senators who did not abandon the Republican party when it abandoned its principles, remains to be seen. A very considerable bolt from the Republican ranks in the Senate is not improbable.

SPEAKING of Senator Wolcott, a bit of sarcasm that he injected into his recent address before the New England Society on the occasion of its annual dinner in New York in commemoration of the landing of the pilgrim fathers at Plymouth is worth repeating.

"There is everywhere in the West," said the Senator, "the most cordial appreciation of the wisdom of eastern men and the value of eastern co-operation; but somehow it isn't really recognized out there that ability to reorganize a western railroad and swell its stock and securities several millions every time it is foreclosed, necessarily indicates an equal ability to determine the wisest economic policy for the farmer who lives along the right of way."

Coming from Senator Wolcott, this reference to the overcapitalization of our railroads is rather surprising. That the banker who seeks to gather riches by wrecking and reorganizing railroads and loading the reorganized companies with watered securities upon which interest can only be earned by the charging of excessive freight rates, should not be looked up to by the western farmer who must pay these excessive rates, as the fountain source of all financial wisdom, is not at all surprising. The banker who thus systematically plans to despoil farmers and other producers of a goodly share of their earnings by charging them excessive freight rates to pay interest on watered securities is hardly the man to prate about an honest standard of value, hardly the man whom the farmer will feel disposed to recognize as best fitted to frame a monetary system for our people. The farmer will feel, and rightly, that such men who make it their business to despoil the producing classes by overcapitalizing our railroads would be inclined to frame a monetary system calculated to enrich the few and despoil the many.

And such are the men who were the guiding spirits of the Indianapolis Business Men's Convention of last January, who are the guiding spirits of the volunteer monetary commission that grew out of that convention, and which has undertaken to formulate a plan of what is called "currency reform," a plan that we anticipate will be aimed at the creation of a bank currency monopoly. It is understood that the report of this volunteer monetary commission will be made to the "Business Men's Monetary Convention" to be reassembled in Indianapolis towards the last of this month. In this convention of "business men," in which producers of wealth find little or no place and in which those who bend their efforts to accumulating wealth by preying upon the fruits of others' labor are supreme and regarded as model business men, the plan of this commission will no doubt meet with enthusiastic reception. But before the great assembly of the true business men of the country, the men who produce wealth, not the men who seek to accumulate wealth by dishonest practices, the reception of the work of this commission will, we fancy, be strikingly cold.

APPEARANCES are much against the acceptance of any plan for the remodelling of our currency of the character that it is supposed the volunteer monetary commission has formulated. But it may be the banks are resolved to force the acceptance of such a plan. It will be remembered that in the spring of 1893 appearances were much against the repeal of the silver purchasing clause of the Sherman act. Indeed, an effort to bring about repeal had failed before the outgoing Congress. But the banks brought pressure, they contracted their loans, they threw the country into panic, and in the autumn of 1893 the repeal bill was passed through Congress. In short, the banks gave us in 1893 what they called an object lesson of the need for repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, an object lesson, in fact, of the abuse of their powers and of the need of putting the banks under stricter government restraint as a measure of protection to our producing classes.

Now, the question is: are the banks ready to go to any such extremes to-day to secure the adoption of a currency bill such as that of Mr. Gage, as they went to four years and more ago to force the repeal of the silver purchasing clause of the Sherman act? We hardly think they are, but that some of them are is quite probable. An indication of this is to be found in a reversal of the prosperity talk by some bankers and iteration and reiteration that prosperity will not come to stay until the currency question is settled in some way satisfactory to the banks, that is by a contraction of national currency and an expansion of bank currency, a weakening of the national government and a strengthening of the power of the banks to regulate the value of our money. A case in point is to be found in a recent interview of Mr. Forrest H. Parker, President of the Produce Exchange Bank, of New York: "I cannot," he says, "see any appearance of a boom, although no doubt there has been improvement in business. . . . I can see many things which indicate that we are not passing through exceptionally prosperous times. . . . Until the currency question is settled in some satisfactory way I do not think we will see real improvement."

Now we repeat the question: is there any probability of the banks endeavoring to force action on the currency question in 1898 as they did upon the silver purchasing act in 1893? We hardly think that the banks will go to the extreme they did in 1893, namely, contraction and the forcing of a panic. We do not think so, for the banks are in no position to stand another panic. They have not yet recovered from the results of the panic of their own making in 1893. They are still carrying loads of uncollectible bills receivable, bills receivable that must be renewed when they fall due because the makers cannot pay. They call these bills good but they are not and never will be until the policy we are now pursuing of making money dearer and property cheaper is reversed. And then panic would force the makers of these bills receivable and many other makers of paper which the banks hold into bankruptcy and then the banks could not continue to carry such bills receivable as good unless our new Comptroller of the Currency, Mr. Dawes, has even less regard for the national bank act than Mr. Eckels. In short another panic would force many of the banks into bankruptcy and therefore another panic the banks are not likely to force at this time. They are not prepared for one. They have not assimilated and gotten rid of the wrecks of 1893 and they are not ready to force more wrecks.

As we have said the banks have not yet recovered from the panic of 1893. This panic has left its traces on their earnings. The earnings of the New York banks for the year ending September 1, 1892, amounted to 8.2 per cent. upon their total capital and surplus. For the year ending September 1, 1893, their earnings were 8.8 per cent.; for 1894, 5.3 per cent.; for 1895, 5.2 per cent.; for 1896, 6.4 per cent. The banks of the whole country showed earnings of 7.3 per cent. on capital and surplus

for the year ending September 1, 1892, 7.4 per cent. for 1893, 4.5 per cent. for 1894, 5.2 per cent. for 1895, 5.5 per cent. for 1896. So we see the banks have had to pay for the panic they brought on in 1893, and though those behind the banks may have profited by picking up the wrecks of that panic, they are not yet ready to force another panic. So we will hardly have the banks forcing a panic as an object lesson of the need of remodelling our currency system according to their desires.

THE Philadelphia bank failures of last week, or rather failure, for the failed national bank and the failed trust company were practically one, give ground for serious reflections. The failure of the national bank does not in itself give cause for grave concern, neither does that of the trust company. It is the dereliction of duty on the part of Mr. Eckels, Comptroller of the Currency, his utter disregard for the mandates of the national bank act that has been shown up by the failure that sets in motion a serious train of thoughts and occasions grave distrust. After the exposures resultant from this bank failure Mr. Eckels should go forth from the office of Comptroller in disgrace, go forth not to take the presidency of a Chicago bank, but to await trial for his misdemeanors.

But before pursuing this and the most important side of the bank failure further, it is needful to say a word of the failure itself. The failure of the Chestnut Street National Bank grew out of the undue loans made by the bank to its president, Mr. William M. Singerly. Indeed, to Mr. Singerly, directly or indirectly, the bank loaned the major portion of its resources. This was quite contrary to the law. No national bank can lawfully loan to any one person, directly or indirectly, an amount of more than one-tenth of its capital. That this prohibition is ignored by the banks with impunity is, however, an undoubted fact. This all men who have had large dealings with national banks know very well. So that the Chestnut Street National Bank should have loaned to its President many times the amount it legally could is not surprising. But in such loans the bank's resources were tied up, and when Mr. Singerly became involved failure of the bank was inevitable.

And now a word as to Mr. Singerly and his enterprises. Proprietor of the Philadelphia *Record*, and a large user of paper, he resolved some years ago to become the manufacturer of his own paper. So in this business, the business of making newspaper for his own and other papers, he embarked. At first there was no reason to doubt the success of the undertaking and when the bank made advances to Mr. Singerly on his paper mill securities and discounted its paper there was no reason to question the safety of the loans. So there was nothing out of the way in making such loans other than that the bank had no right to loan more than an amount equal to one-tenth of its capital in this way and it loaned many times such amount. But the misfortune that has overtaken so many industries overtook the paper business. Prices fell greatly, fell so greatly as to leave no margin of profit on the manufacture of paper and, of course, paper mill property depreciated. This has been the same with nearly all properties. And thus it was that Mr. Singerly and his bank became involved. Most pronounced of gold advocates Mr. Singerly fell a victim to the monetary system, the system of appreciating money and falling prices, that he so earnestly defends.

AND now to return to Mr. Eckels: He tells us that Mr. Singerly and the bank have been involved for some time, that he has known of the condition of the bank for two years. As an officer of the government, it is his sworn duty to close any bank that is involved or which transgresses the national bank act and fails to make good such transgression after due notice. For two years he knew that the bank was involved, an unsafe place in

which to deposit money; he knew the bank had disobeyed the national bank act in many particulars, but he did not close the bank. As Comptroller of the Currency, it is his duty to see that a supervision is kept over all national banks, see that examinations are made as to condition at frequent periods, and where one is found to be unsound, its capital found to be impaired, it is his duty to see that such impairment of capital is made good or the bank closed. This he is charged to do for the protection of depositors, charged to do so that an assurance shall be given to bank depositors that so far as the national bank examiners can see the banks are sound.

But here we have the Chestnut Street Bank which Mr. Eckels confesses he knew was unsound, confesses he knew was involved and its capital impaired, and he did not close the bank, permitted it to remain open two years after he had possession of this knowledge. And all this time the bank was an unsafe place in which to deposit money, all this time Mr. Eckels was permitting depositors to put their money where he knew it was unsafe. And just before the bank closed, when those conversant with the condition of the bank saw the inevitable, they drew out their deposits to an amount of several hundred thousand dollars. This was their right of course, but the Comptroller of the Currency had no right to let them do so. He should have closed the bank as soon as he knew it was involved so that all creditors, all depositors, could share equally in the assets. But allowing the bank to be kept open when clearly involved and the larger depositors, acquainted with this fact, were withdrawing their money, had the effect of making the larger depositors preferred creditors. They were given the chance to get out whole. If there is loss the loss must fall on the smaller depositors who, trusting in the assurance of the national bank act that the bank would be closed if ever found in unsound condition, went on depositing their money in blissful ignorance of the fact that the bank was shaky, a fact well known to the Comptroller.

AND what reasons does Mr. Eckels give for failing to order the closing of the bank when he knew it to be unsound and an unsafe place in which to deposit money? The first reason is, of course, that he hoped that the bank would be pulled through, the second is that "it could not have been closed without causing widespread financial disaster in which many other banks would have suffered." Now if this latter is to be a guiding rule there would never be a closing of a large bank by the Comptroller however rotten. And besides it is not the right of the Comptroller to make rules in disregard of the national bank act. It is his sworn duty to execute the law as he finds it, not as he wants it. But the most remarkable of all reasons advanced for not closing the bank earlier is that "a year ago the election was on and it would not have done to have had a bank failure at that time." In other words, he allowed men and women to go on depositing their money at that time and putting it in jeopardy because giving them the protection against unsound banks that is promised them by the national bank act, but which it appears is not given them, would, he feared, have caused the loss of a few votes to Mr. McKinley. A pretty dishonest way is this for an honest money man to hold on to honest money votes.

THE announcement was made authoritatively a few days since that President McKinley had proffered the chairmanship of the Interstate Commerce Commission to ex-Judge Paxson, of this state, and that the proffer had been accepted. The appointment has, however, not as yet been sent to the Senate. We trust that the delay signifies that the President has reconsidered, or has resolved to reconsider the appointment, for Judge Paxson would be as unfit a man to put on the Interstate Commerce Commission as could well be picked out. His appointment would be quite on a par with the appointment of a railroad president as a commissioner to pass on charges of discrimination preferred against his com-

pany during his presidency. Such appointment could not be made, for the Interstate Commerce act explicitly declares that no person in the employ or holding any official relation to a railroad shall be appointed as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Yet the appointment of Judge Paxson would be practically, though not technically, just such an appointment.

Judge Paxson resigned from the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in 1893, to become one of the receivers of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company. This receivership has since been dissolved, but during the period of this receivership the receivers of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad joined in the "Joint Traffic Association," a pool of trunk lines to regulate charges and distribute freight tonnage. This association the Interstate Commerce Commission has declared to be unlawful, the Circuit Court in New York upheld the rule of the commission, the Court of Appeals has affirmed it and the case is now before the Supreme Court. So Judge Paxson is now on trial for an infraction of the Interstate Commerce law. He is one of the defendants in a case brought by the commission. If he is appointed to the chairmanship of that commission he will be put in the anomalous position of prosecuting himself. Surely a man who has, as co-receiver of the Reading Railroad, bent his energies to finding ways of beating around the Interstate Commerce act and is now defendant in a suit in which he is charged with being a party to a transgression of that law should be given no place on the commission charged with the enforcement of that act.

Bradstreet's is authority for the statement that Mr. Leiter, who is now making such a stir in the Chicago wheat market, has obtained contracts with the Pennsylvania and Vanderbilt roads to ship his wheat to seaboard points at rates as low as 10 cents a hundred pounds, while the rates openly quoted and themselves cut under the published rates are 15 to 17½ cents per hundred pounds. Here we have Leiter favored over the generality of shippers to the extent of at least five cents a hundred pounds. It gives him an immense advantage over all other shippers. Such favoring of shippers is not only prohibited by the Interstate Commerce act, but it is a criminal offence both to give and receive such preference. So if this charge of rebates could be proven, Leiter would be on the fair road to the penitentiary for receiving such rebates and the traffic managers of the Pennsylvania and Vanderbilt roads for offering them. But that such charges shall be proven there is not the slightest chance.

While on this point of discrimination in freight rates it will not be out of place to introduce a letter received by the Interstate Commerce Commission during the past summer, from, so it is stated by the commission in their annual report, one of the oldest and in their line of trade one of the largest houses of Chicago. The letter is as follows, the signature being omitted for reasons that will appear:

CHICAGO, June 5, 1897.

HON. WM. R. MORRISON,

President Interstate Commerce Commission:

DEAR SIR:—Referring to the Interstate Commerce law, a representative of one of the leading freight lines from the East to Chicago called this morning to solicit our business and, as an inducement, offered us 25 per cent. off the regular tariff rates. We asked him if this was not violating the United States Commerce law. He said certainly it was. This is a sample of what has been done for a long period and what is being done to day.

What is a firm to do who will not violate this law? Adhering to it costs us thousands of dollars per annum.

We are confident that there are many, many reputable houses in Chicago who are suffering on account of their strong desire to be law-abiding citizens. Violators of the law are in a position to get control of more than their share of business.

Yet so great is the dependence of this firm on the railroads that, when the commission proposed to investigate, the firm in

question expressed regret at having written the letter and asked that the matter be dropped because of the unpleasant consequences that would result to them should they appear as complainants against the men they are required to have constant business dealings with. This request was regarded, for as no offense had been consummated, the firm having refused to accept the proffered rebate, no conviction could be secured and the commission believed that "the mere exposure of an offer to violate the law, made by a subordinate agent of a railroad company, would not warrant the placing of law abiding and worthy citizens at the disadvantage which they feared would follow them if their complaint should become public."

In a bitter editorial characterizing the shooting of Col. Ruiz by the Cubans as cowardly, wanton murder, the New York *Tribune* remarks that "had Ruiz been a spy, or had he come to try to bribe or corrupt Aranguren, he would have deserved death, after proper trial." And this was just his purpose in going to Aranguren, to try to bribe him into betraying the Cuban cause. It is in order for the *Tribune* to revise its judgment.

RAILROAD AS THE MASTER—MAN AS THE SERVANT.

BACK in the first decades of this century the building of great works of internal communication, of common paths of trade and commerce to be open to the use of all men alike was undertaken under the guiding hand of the national government. The building of roads to promote the interchange of the products of men's labor and so weld together the people of the east and west with bands of common interest was judged to be a function rightly falling to the national government, and so we had extensive plans of internal improvement mapped out by the United States Government, we had some great post roads built, we had many other roads and many canals contemplated. The national government was fairly started on the course of supplying our people with ways and means of communication, national roads and waterways that would be open to all men on like terms without preference or prejudice. The opening of these channels of communication on other terms was not dreamed of, the possibility of the ways of communication ever being opened to use on other terms than those of exact equality would have been scouted.

But unfortunately the policy of national construction and ownership of the means of internal communication thus so happily and naturally inaugurated was made a party question. So when there came an overturn of parties there came a relaxation in this policy. The national government ceased to push the contemplated works of internal development. And as the nation dropped these works the states took them up. Thus state construction and ownership of the ways and means of communication came to supplant national ownership. We had an era of the building of state roads, of turnpikes and canals.

While this construction was under way there came the practical application of steam to locomotive machinery that was to revolutionize the transportation systems of the world. Slowly but surely the superiority of the railroad and the locomotive over the turnpike forced itself upon men's minds. And then the states turned to the building of iron roads as they had turned to the building of turnpikes and canals. Many of the first railroads in the United States were built by the states, and with the expectation that they should be managed by the states.

But, unfortunately, the building and management of many of these roads was not free from scandal. Moreover there came a demand for the construction of these roads and for an expenditure of money that the states could not provide for out of taxation, and there was an aversion to the states running into debt. So the

organization of joint stock companies, already resorted to for the building of many turnpike enterprises, was hit upon. Railroad companies were chartered by the states and given special privileges and valuable grants. Thus the corporation came to supplant the state in providing the people with means of communication. No one dreamed but that the railroad companies thus chartered would serve all men equally, as the chartered turnpikes had done, do like service for all men for like charges and without prejudice or preference. In brief, when the people, through their representatives, chartered and created railroad corporations and conferred upon them valuable grants it was supposed that the railroads thus created would serve the people.

But as our railroad systems were evolved out of their meagre beginnings they gradually lost the character of common carriers. As they have grown in age and strength so have they grown to tyrannize over shippers; as railroad consolidation has gone on and as the stronger roads have spread and systematized their control over the smaller so have they systematized their tyrannies. The treatment of all men at the hands of the railroads with exact equality, the rendering, by the railroads, of like services for like charges to all shippers, without preference or prejudice, is a thing of the past. It is now the promptest service for the smallest charges to the shipper who will purchase such favor by sharing the profit resulting from such favor with railroad managers, the worst service and the highest charges to the shipper who will not be a party to such dishonest practices, who will not stoop to the bribery of railroad officials. It is now the best service for the smallest charges to the industries in which railroad managers have a direct or indirect interest, the slowest service at the highest rates to independent producers who are striving to get ahead by legitimate means and without swelling their profits at others expense by compounding with dishonest railroad managers.

Of a necessity honesty fails in businesses dependent on rail transportation, it is dishonesty that succeeds, it is honesty that is rewarded with failure, dishonesty with riches and power. And so it is the best service and lowest rates for the rich and powerful, for the cliques, the combines, the trusts, while it is the worst service and highest rates for the poorer shippers and for the industrious who bend their energies to producing wealth, not to planning ways for the accumulation of wealth by despoiling other men of the fruits of their toil. Nor is this any overcolored picture. It is a plain statement of conditions as they are. The railroads, though chartered and created by the state to serve the people, to serve all men without preference or prejudice, do not do so. The creator has become the servant the created is no longer, the railroad is the master, man the servant.

So have the relations of railroad and public been reversed. It is no longer the railroad that serves the public for the mutual advantage of stockholders and shippers, it is the public that is made to serve the railroad cliques and combines. No longer are the railroads directed so as to promote industry by insuring to all shippers an equality of service and at like rates, no longer are they directed so as to give all men common and equal opportunities in the distribution of the products of their labor, so encourage enterprise, swell traffic and railroad earnings, and so increase the return to stockholders, but they are directed so as to swell the profits of the speculative cliques, of the trusts and combines, profits made not by honest industry, but by despoiling the industrious who are shippers of freights over the railroads on the one hand, and railroad stockholders on the other.

If a turnpike company should make a regular charge of one cent a mile but should permit the teams of those farms which the turnpike managers had an interest in to use it upon payment of three-quarters of cent a mile while charging the full rate to the poorer farmers, what would be thought of that turnpike? We fancy such turnpike company would soon be abolished, that the men who directed such discrimination in tolls would find them-

selves on the way to the penitentiary. Yet this is just what our railroads do. Railroad managers direct that smaller tolls shall be charged some shippers than others, they share in the extra profits that grow out of the preference in rates given to the favored shippers. The railroad managers who thus grow rich should go the road that turnpike managers, guilty of similar crimes, would go, but they don't; they would go the same road if the provisions of our present laws were enforced against them, but such provisions are not enforced. On the contrary, as they grow richer from pursuit of practices that should send them to the penitentiary they hold their heads higher, in a corrupt society they are held in higher esteem.

The only difference between the supposed case of the turnpike and the actual case of our railroads is one of the magnitude of the grievance, of the injustice done. The grievance that farmers charged a toll of one cent a mile would have against the turnpike company that permitted certain favored farmers to use the pike upon a payment of three-fourths of the regular rate would, in a way, be small. As the distances of transportation over the turnpikes would be short, and as the toll would amount to an infinitesimal fraction of the value of the produce transported, the advantage that the favored farmers would have over others because of the enjoyment of lower tolls would be inappreciable. But in the case of our railroads this advantage is not small, for the distances over which goods are transported by our railroads are great and the freight charges often amount to a very considerable proportion of the value of the product, so that the advantage conferred upon a shipper by a moderate cut in rates below those charged to competitors is most important, often large enough to equal the full amount of profit in the shipment, and when this is so those who have not the advantage of the lower rate cannot prosper, they cannot ship at a profit, if they continue to ship they must fall behind as the favored shipper gets ahead, and the result must be in the end the drying up of many businesses honestly conducted while the dishonestly conducted thrive.

As the Interstate Commerce Commissioners truly say in their eleventh annual report, recently made public: "A very slight change in rates upon any of the staple commodities amounts to an enormous sum in the aggregate. In most articles of daily use the transportation charge is a large, and often the larger, part of the cost to the consumer. The freight rate may determine whether the Kansas farmer shall burn his corn for fuel or send it to market. The traffic manager may decree whether an industry shall exist or a locality flourish."

And not only may the traffic manager decree failure to one enterprise, success to another, growth and development to one locality, shrinkage to another, but he does so decree. Such abuses are intolerable. To rid ourselves from them, to insure to all men like transportation facilities without discrimination as to charges and so take the making and undoing of fortunes out of the hands of railroad managers, we must return to first principles in the construction, ownership and management of our ways and means of communication. The government early started out on the policy of constructing and managing post roads. It dropped this duty, the duty of insuring to our people like transportation services at like charges to the states, and the states dropped it to corporations. Corporations gladly assumed the task of supplying ways and means of communication thus dropped to them, but not the duties. Our railroads have grown greatly, but they have not grown as common carriers but as preferential carriers, and so we have had gross abuses. To free ourselves from such abuses the national government must resume the work it dropped, the work of providing ways and means of communication common to the use of all men alike; it must assume the ownership and management of our railroads.

And now abideth avarice, anarchy, apathy, these three evils; but the greatest of these is apathy.

REPORT OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

HE WHO doubts the enormity of the abuses that have grown up around the management of our railroads, he who deems that we have laid too much stress on present abuses and that a remedy can be found short of government ownership and management, we would refer to the recently issued annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission. It is needless to say that this commission was established a dozen years ago with the purpose of putting an end to discrimination in freight rates and to force the railroads to be in fact, what they are in name: common carriers, and that the commission has failed in this purpose. We have no more than to turn to the pages of the last report of the commission to be signally convinced of this. Indeed, the commission confesses that it has failed. It must be stated, however, that the commission finds the cause of its failure in the shortcomings of the law under which it acts, not in the shortcomings inseparable from the system of railroad operation that it is charged to regulate. Before we can rid ourselves of these shortcomings we must rid ourselves of the system, we must establish government roads in place of private.

It is true that the Interstate Commerce Commission does not urge government ownership, does not even suggest it. But it does point out the grossness of the evils that have grown around the management of our railroads, evils which it was created to rectify and which it has confessedly failed to rectify. It is true that it does not despair of its ability to control the railroads so as to put an end to these abuses, that it suggests amendments to the Interstate Commerce Act as the way to remedy those abuses. But no one can read this report, unless he be blinded by preconceptions in opposition to government ownership, without being impressed with the superficiality of the commission's suggestions. For grievous abuses it suggests but palliatives, it suggests nothing that is commensurate with the evils, nothing that strikes at their root. Indeed, failing to strike at the root, it suggests, in its dilemma, a remedy of a confessedly doubtful nature. Thus we have suggestion of an amendment to the Interstate Commerce Act to legalize pooling, though the commission distinctly admits that the legalizing of pooling would be beset with dangers. The suggestion is little else than to jump from the frying pan into the fire because the commission sees not where else to jump. Such suggestion is lamentably weak, it is a confession of impotence to devise a remedy. And of the other suggestions of the commission it can only be said that to turn back the flood of evils they propose to raise but a mole hill.

Under the present law the commission confesses its impotence to remedy admitted abuses. The Interstate Commerce Act prohibits enough abuses, it makes criminal enough dishonest practices, to be a most beneficial measure. But it does not provide effectual means for enforcing its prohibitions and so its prohibitions stand, to a great degree, as a dead letter; its criminal provisions are laughed at, for they are not enforced, they are not effectual and they cannot well be made effectual. Of the acts that are criminal only the guilty have definite knowledge. It is only by getting evidence from the guilty that convictions can be secured, and to get this evidence is well nigh impossible, for no man can be forced to bear witness against himself.

Thus is discrimination in freight rates, the cutting of rates below the published tariffs to favored shippers, made a criminal offence, punishable by fine and imprisonment. But such discrimination is notorious and no convictions follow. So, also, is discrimination between localities, the charging of a greater rate for a shorter haul than is made for a longer, prohibited, but such discrimination goes on. Thus, for example, the rate on cotton from Troy, Alabama, to Savannah is more than the rate from Montgomery, although Troy is fifty-two miles nearer Savannah

and the cotton shipped from Montgomery passes through Troy on its way to Savannah. Such discrimination against Troy is, as the layman would read the statutes, clearly prohibited by the Interstate Commerce act, but the Supreme Court has declared that it is not. Of this case the commission says:

"Troy had two rival lines of railroad and was competitive by location, but the freight association which controlled that territory arbitrarily said that the competition should be given effect at Montgomery and should not be given effect at Troy. This is the special iniquity of the system, that it puts into the hands of a railway manager, or a collection of railway managers, the power to determine what localities shall pay and what receive tribute."

And it is this laying of tribute on Troy that the merchants of Montgomery may receive tribute that the Supreme Court has declared the Interstate Commerce Commission, has, under the law as it stands, no power to prohibit. What is more, this case of discrimination against Troy and in favor of Montgomery, Alabama, is no exceptional instance of discrimination of this kind. Many might be cited. One case referred to in the report of the commission is this: Valdosta, Georgia, is a town situated 158 miles from Savannah, 413 miles from Charleston, S. C., 485 miles from Wilmington, N. C. Yet the rate upon fertilizers from all these points to Valdosta is the same, \$2.03 per ton. Clearly Savannah is deprived of the advantage of location rightly belonging to her. But this is not the worst of it. The roads from Wilmington and Charleston charge higher rates to intermediate points than they do on the longer haul to Valdosta. Thus the rate charged on fertilizers from Charleston to Kathleen, Ga., 288 miles, is \$3.02 per ton. Yet fertilizer is hauled through Kathleen from Charleston and on to Valdosta, a distance of 413 miles, for 99 cents less a ton. Thus the railroad lays a tribute upon the people buying fertilizers at Kathleen that the people around Valdosta may get their fertilizers at a lesser rate.

Now what is at the bottom of this discrimination? Simply there is railroad competition at Valdosta, none at Kathleen. The commission is evidently inclined to declare this discrimination against Kathleen illegal and order the railroad to reduce its charges to Kathleen to a percentage of the Valdosta rate proportionate to distance. But the Supreme Court has already rendered decision in another case declaring such discrimination to be legal and on the ground that where there is competition, and a railroad must make a specially low rate to hold the traffic to such point of competition, it is quite lawful for the road to charge less for the haul to such point than it charges for shorter hauls to places where there is no competition. With this ruling of the Court the commission takes serious exception, but as it is based on the same principle that the commission has itself applied where there is water competition it has little occasion to find fault. Thus the commission has ever ruled that where the railroads meet water competition they may reduce their tariffs to points where they meet that competition without proportionately reducing their rates to points where such competition is not met. Thus the places with water transportation have been given the advantage not only of low water freight rates but of lower railroad rates than are given to places dependent solely on rail transportation. And now the Supreme Court rules that at points where railroads meet railroad competition the same rule shall apply, that the freight rate between two points where there is rail competition may be less than the rate to intermediate points where there is no competition.

This ruling rests on the ground, of course, that where there is competition a railroad must meet the rates of competitors or lose the traffic. But it is reasonable to suppose that railroads would not take this competitive traffic unless they could earn a profit from it and that they will not reduce their rates to hold it below a point that will yield sufficient profit to make the business worth doing. And if this is so they can afford to take traffic for non-competitive points at rates proportionate to the rates they are glad to make to competitive points. To charge more than pro-

portionate rates, and they do, amounts to nothing less than a tax upon the localities that have not the benefit of rail or water competition that puts the producers of such localities under a serious handicap. The injustice of taxing localities without rail competition for the benefit of localities where there is competition is clearly pointed out by the commission and it asks that the Interstate Commerce Act be so amended as to leave no doubt of the intention of Congress to prohibit the charging of proportionately higher freight rates between points where there is no rail competition than between points where there is such competition. The injustice of charging lower freight rates between two points with water communication than between intermediate points where water competition cannot be used to hold in check exorbitant railroad charges the commission refuses to see.

It should be remembered that the discrimination in freight rates is by no means confined to those localities with and without rail competition. The rates charged to different points on the same line of railroad and points reached by no other road are often disproportionate, thus giving some localities the advantage over others. But the commission has proven itself impotent to remedy even these abuses. The reason for this is to be found in the cumbersome machinery for enforcing its findings. The procedure in all cases of alleged discrimination is for the commission to hold hearings, pass on the facts and adjudge the case much after the manner of a court, and if the complainant is, in the opinion of the majority of the commission, entitled to relief, the commission makes an order directing the railroad not to do the thing complained of. But if the railroad neglects to obey this order it suffers no penalty, incurs no loss. If the railroad thus disobeys, obedience can only be enforced by some one interested in the order of the commission filing a petition in the United States Circuit Court of the proper district praying that such order shall be enforced. This amounts not only to a passing on the evidence heard before the commission. It amounts to a reopening of the whole case and the starting of interminable litigation, for if the case is of any importance to the railroad it will surely be carried to the Circuit Court of Appeals, and then to the Supreme Court if the decisions of the lower courts are against the railroad.

This means the tying up of cases for months, yes years, before any relief from alleged discriminations can be accorded. In fact the average duration of the cases actually prosecuted for the enforcement of the orders of the commission has been about four years. And when all this is gone through with, and the contention of the injured shipper is upheld, what is the result. Simply an order to the railroad to stop the discrimination in the future. No reparation for past injuries can be given. As the commission says: "No satisfactory remedy can be given for what has been already done. If a carrier is allowed to exact an excessive freight rate, the public, or the part of the public which is injured, never can be compensated for the injury."

So the incentive to injured shippers to appeal to the Interstate Commerce Law for relief from railroad tyrannies is little enough. No effectual reparation can be given for past injuries, and before relief can be accorded in the future from existing evils a period of four years is likely to elapse, and four years of continued discrimination may mean for many of those discriminated against utter ruin, may mean the utter loss of business to competitors, a closing down of the establishments discriminated against, perhaps bankruptcy for the owners and the passage of their property into other hands. And what inclination have such men to petition for relief from discrimination when the prospects are that such relief will not be accorded until they have no longer any interest in the granting of such relief, until, in all probability, their competitors, enriched by such discrimination, will have come into the possession of their property and thus reap the results of the relief prayed for? Obviously, injured shippers will be deterred from making formal complaints. As the commission

reports: "An extensive shipper is dependent upon the railroad company. That company may completely crush him before we can afford him the slightest relief, and in spite of any action we can take in his favor. If it does not openly discriminate against him there are innumerable ways in which it can annoy and injure him. Shippers fully understand this. Complaints received by us are often accompanied by the request that the name of the complainant may not be made known to the carrier."

So even where there is open discrimination in freight rates between the shippers of different localities, even where the discrimination made and by which some localities, some shippers, are helped ahead at the expense of others openly appears in the published rate schedules the Interstate Commerce Commission is impotent to render any effectual relief. It is, indeed, quite possible that the Interstate Commerce act might be amended and procedure thereunder so simplified as to obviate the tedious and discouraging delays in the enforcing of the orders of the commission and so put a check to the open discrimination between localities. Such amendments the commission recommends, but it must be remembered that the most injurious, the most grievous, the most intolerable discriminations are the secret discriminations, not the open ones, the cuts under published rates to favored shippers not the charging of excessive published rates to some localities. It is these secret cuts that build up the cliques and trusts, that make it impossible for men outside of trusts to successfully compete. It is by the making of these secret cuts that railroad managers keep in their hands the fortunes of the multitude of producers, decree who shall succeed, who shall fail. And they decree that those who pay them tribute in some way or other shall prosper greatly, that the enterprises of those who refuse shall languish. This is the abuse connected with the management of our railroads before which all others pale. And this abuse the commission confesses its inability to meet. It recognizes that though the establishment and publication of just and reasonable tariffs should be secured this greatest of abuses might still continue.

The transportation of freight at rates below the published schedules, in other words, the giving of rebates to particular shippers, is at this time a criminal offense under our statutes. The railroad manager guilty of such offense is liable to fine and imprisonment. So, also, is the shipper liable who accepts a secret cut in rates below the published tariffs. But who are cognizant of these offenses? The guilty railroad manager and the guilty shipper. And as we have said they cannot be forced to give evidence against themselves save when exempted from prosecution on the charge upon which they give evidence, and they alone are capable of giving evidence sufficiently definite to obtain conviction. So cuts in rates are notorious, but there are no convictions for such breaches of the law. Moreover, the men who are ready to swell their purses by dishonest practices, by the giving and receiving of rebates forbidden by law are not above perjuring themselves. An oath is lightly regarded by those who worship Mammon. The Interstate Commerce Commission confesses that this so. Reference is made in its report to an investigation of charges that the trunk lines were cutting rates to favored shippers on shipments of grain to the Atlantic seaboard. The report on this point reads as follows:

"Those officers of the different railroad companies engaged in the traffic, who must have known had the rate been departed from, were called before us and compelled to give evidence under oath. That evidence was, without exception, that the rate had been in all cases maintained.

"Now, these gentlemen must have known whereof they spoke. Their testimony covers a period in which rates of the kind involved were said to have been more than ordinarily disturbed, and that testimony shows that during all that time and in reference to all those shipments the published tariff was scrupulously exacted. Nevertheless there are strong reasons for believing that the fact is otherwise. Those who are in a position to

know say that this is so. Railroad managers themselves, with one accord, declare it to be so. Facts which are morally convincing, although not of a character to secure a legal conviction, lead us to the same opinion. We have no doubt that at the present time very large quantities of competitive traffic are carried at other than published rates.

"The effect of this rate cutting is most unfortunate. Incidentally it prefers the large to the small shipper. Rebates cannot be given to-day as they were before the passage of this act. . . . Various devices are resorted to. Only a few can know of the transaction. The whole matter must be covered up and kept secret, with the result that the large shipper, the trust, the monopoly, is able to secure the concession, while the small shipper is obliged to pay the published rates. . . .

"But the most unfortunate feature of the whole situation is the fact that it often prevents the honest shipper from doing business at all. It being a crime to accept less than the published rate, one who believes that the law of the land should be obeyed cannot accept a reduction from that rate. It is only the dishonest trader who can and does accept it. This concession is often the only profit in the transaction. A margin of a cent a bushel on grain when handled in large quantities for export is considered a fair one, and this is not a large or unusual concession in the freight rate. The result is, therefore, that not only is the honest dealer at a disadvantage, but he may be absolutely prohibited from engaging in that business.

"The same is true with the carrier. It is a crime for the agent of the railroad company to give this concession in rates, and no honest man can be, on behalf of the railroad company, a party to such transaction; so that the carrier which would obey the law is deprived of the business that legitimately belongs to it."

Thus we see honesty penalized, law breaking rewarded. And the commission has only one remedy to suggest, that suggested by the railroads—namely, the enactment of a law to legalize pooling, and on this the commission is divided, one or two of the five members of the commission evidently feeling that pooling would be no remedy, that it would accentuate the evils from which we suffer, bring no relief. And the majority seem to recommend the legalizing of pooling in sheer desperation of finding another remedy, for they say "it must be remembered that if pooling produces any beneficial result it necessarily does so at the expense of competition." Evidently the commission is not at all certain that pooling would bring any beneficial result. "It is only by destroying competition," adds the commission, "that the inducement to deviate from the published rate is wholly removed."

And here we would remark that the doing away with competition would not wholly destroy by any means the inducement to give special cut rates to particular shippers. This for the reason that the strongest of reasons for making these special rates is that those who make them profit from them, that the greatest cause behind the granting of rebates is that the railroad managers giving such rebates share in the profits accruing therefrom, that they give rebates to certain shippers in consideration of such shippers handing over to them a part of the rebate. Thus the railroad treasuries are depleted and the purses of the railroad managers are swelled by such rebates. And the same is true where rebates are given to those enterprises which the cliques directing the railroads own. It is the swelling of the fortunes of those in the railroad management and those behind the railroads, a swelling at the expense of railroad investors and the general multitude of producers, that is the great inducement to cuts in rates. And so the authorizing of pooling and the doing away with competition would not put an end to discrimination in rates. It would only enable dishonest railroad managers to spread and systematize their discriminations greatly to the profit of the railroad cliques, greatly to the injury of the multitude of producers.

This prime objection to pooling, the commission does not point out. But it does point out that "by the legalizing of pooling," which would put an end to competition "the public would lose the only protection which it now has against the unreason-

able exactions of transportation agencies." Yet the majority of the commission is "inclined to recommend that the experiment be tried," provided the commission be empowered to regulate transportation rates and so secure the public, deprived of the protection of competition, from unreasonable exactions at the hands of the railroads. And why does the majority recommend the making of this experiment that admittedly may fail to give relief, that confessedly must lead to grievous injury if the safeguards to be provided to secure the public against the aggressions of the newly constituted railroad monopoly should prove inadequate? Clearly it recommends the making of this experiment because it feels something must be done, because the railroads insist upon pooling as the remedy and the commission has none other to suggest, because, despairing, it feels that a step in the dark would be better than no step at all.

We would suggest that the step suggested by these interested parties, the railroad cliques, cliques profiting from discriminations, from the abuses from which relief is sought, would be worse than no step at all. The only true steps to relief are in the direction of government ownership, a step toward pooling would be but a step deeper into the abuses.

In conclusion we desire to call attention to one gross abuse referred to in the report of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Last year the Supreme Court rendered a decision upholding the Southern Pacific Railroad in transporting imported goods at lower rates than the products of American labor. Imported goods had been given a preference in transportation rates over domestic products and the right of the railroads to give this preference and thus enable foreigners to ship their goods to market over American railroads at lower rates than our own producers and so in some cases market their goods, despite the 3,000 miles of ocean carriage, at a less expense than our own manufacturers, thus undermining our tariff system, was upheld by the Supreme Court. The railroads have now applied this same rule to goods shipped for export. Thus, says the commission, "provisions have been and are transported by rail from the Missouri River to New York and thence by steamers to Liverpool at 45¼ cents per 100 pounds of which the railroads received 38¼ cents per 100 pounds and the steamship 6¾ cents per 100 pounds, while traffic identical in weight, quality, and value, and carried on the same trains, from the same point of origin, to New York, but which was for domestic consumption, was required to pay 53½ cents per 100 pounds."

So it is seen that American provisions from west of the Missouri River could actually be laid down in Liverpool for 8¼ cents less per hundred pounds than in New York. It would follow that provisions should be that much cheaper in Liverpool than New York. They have not been. The conclusion is unavoidable that this rebate on goods shipped for export went into the pockets of some favored shippers. So this discrimination against the American consumer has in no way extended the foreign markets for our products. These rebates on provisions for export have not resulted in enabling our farmers to market their provisions at less expense abroad. In short, our farmers have not had the benefit of these rebates, favored shippers have. Moreover there is reason to believe that all the provisions transported at export rates were not exported, but were merely shipped under this cloak to enable certain large distributors of provisions in New York to receive goods on the payment of smaller freight charges than their honest competitors.

So we have dishonest shippers of provisions to foreign markets, dishonest distributors of provisions in our own markets, dishonest railroad managers who have profited from those rebates on goods shipped for export, and they alone.

To-day the art of becoming rich is the art of keeping your neighbor poor.—*Ruskin*.

THE FEDERATION OF LABOR AND MR. GAGE.

WHEN the conditions under which trade and industry must be carried on are such as to make it impossible for the honest employer of labor to profit from his enterprise wage earners can only attain prosperity through the removal of such conditions. And where such conditions are the outgrowth of unwise legislation or a disregard of the duties of government, and where the people are their own rulers responsible for such unwise legislation and the shortcomings of government and with the power to enact remedial legislation, the removal of such conditions as stand in the way of prosperity, happiness and progress can be attained through the use of the ballot. And as our wage earners hold the ballots to dictate the policy of our government, overturn the conditions that make it impossible for the honest producer to get ahead and prosper and possible for the combines and trusts to oppress them, theirs is the responsibility. By the organized use of the ballot they can free themselves from the oppression that comes with industrial stagnation and the upbuilding of trusts, and they can secure to themselves prosperity and happiness. Having such power they have, if they fail to attain prosperity, only themselves to blame.

The strongest weapon that organized labor can command to secure wage earners against oppression and insure to them employment, plenty and happiness is unquestionably the ballot. Yet the labor unions have in the past systematically shunned the use of this weapon. The action of the national convention of the American Federation of Labor recently taken at Nashville and urging united political action is therefore a departure from the ordinary. But it is a departure as wise as it is unusual. That convention resolved that for the Federation of Labor to tie itself to any party organization would be a mistake but that to hold itself in readiness to throw its influence and support to that party which may in the future espouse the policies of benefit to wage earners was of the supremest importance. At present the Peoples party represents the policies dictated in the interest of all classes engaged in honest industry and hence of wage earners, and to the Peoples party the Federation of Labor must and does incline.

Conditions that sap the profits of honest industry and discourage enterprise must result in idleness and loss to wage earners. When the profits of industry are diminished or wiped out wages must fall. There is no escape from it in the end for employers cannot go on producing forever without profit, and wage earners must accept lower wages, reduce the money cost of production, and so restore the incentive of profit or accept idleness. And as they cannot accept idleness they must accept lower wages when the profits of employers are cut into.

When many employers are despoiled of the profits of industry for the benefit of a few then the prospects of labor are somewhat different. The few being enriched while the many are impoverished we have increased demand for labor on the part of the few employers, decreased demand on the part of the many. Then the few will seek to avail of the numerous idle workmen to force down wages while the wage earners who are employed will seek to force up wages by working upon the certain disinclination of such employers to suffer a discontinuance to production and a check to their reaping of profits. Then will come severe contests between such employers and wage earners. The few employers who are prospering because of some special advantages in the midst of stagnation will be tempted to increase production and so their profits, and will seek to hire the men that must be had to extend production without raising the rate of wages, if not at lower wages than paid those already employed. And on the other hand the employed wage earners will endeavor to prevent such employer from getting the hands he wants without paying an advance which would be the entering wedge to a raising of wages all through his establishment. On the side of this employer are

the necessities of the many idle, on the side of the workmen are the necessities of the employer, desiring to increase production, for new men and the disinclination on the part of wage earners to be parties to a pressing down of wages. But it must be admitted that this spirit of disinclination must be very strong to bring victory to the workmen where there are many more idle than the limited numbers wanted by the few employers desirous of extending production. And even if the workmen succeed in keeping up normal wages they cannot prevent the incurring of losses from enforced idleness.

From the foregoing we must conclude that when conditions are such as to stifle the multitude of enterprises and encourage the growth of trusts and combines the road of the wage earner must be a hard one. As trusts and combines grow in power, as independent industries are wrecked and weeded out and the demand for labor becomes more and more restricted to the trusts and combines, the power of such trusts for the oppression of wage-earners becomes more and more pronounced. And then are the labor unions, thus confronted with ever more powerful antagonists, obliged to put forth the most strenuous efforts to prevent the grinding down of wages and insure to workmen a just share in the enjoyment of the products of their labor.

So we have strikes and more and more bitter strikes just as the weeding out of independent producers goes on and the centralization of wealth in a few hands and the direction of the industries of our country by a few interests becomes more pronounced. And as this centralization goes on the organization of the labor unions must become more perfected so that they may be able to make continued and successful resistance to the aggressions of centralized capital. As the power of centralized capital grows so must the power of the labor unions grow or they must retire baffled from the contest.

Thus far organized labor has met with measurable success the aggressions of those who are building up power and riches around the citadel of trusts and combines. But it must be admitted that while in one way the labor unions have succeeded in keeping up wages, in another they have not. Thus with the growth of trusts and combines the share of the workman in the wealth produced has undoubtedly been diminished, even though nominal wages have not fallen materially. Of the wealth produced a greater share undoubtedly goes to the employer as represented in the trust, a smaller share to the wage earner. There can be no question of this, even though wages have fallen but little as measured in dollars and cents, even though they have not fallen in purchasing power. The explanation is that along with the progress of invention the productiveness of man's labor has increased greatly while of late years the rate of wages has rather fallen than increased. The result is that the increased productiveness of labor is going not to the producers of wealth, but to the combines and trusts; is being garnered not by those who produce the extra wealth, not by those who are entitled to it, but by those who make a business of preying upon the fruits of others' toil.

If this was the worst of the injuries inflicted by the building up of trusts and combines, or rather by the conditions that make that building possible, the injury done to wage earners would not be so grievous. But the conditions of trade and industry that lead to the despoiling of the multitude of producers for the benefit of the few, and thus to the building up of trusts and combines, cause industrial stagnation, enforced idleness to an army of wage earners, and so a serious curtailment to the income of wage earners. And while they are thus condemned to enforced idleness for a good part of their time, and while they do not reap a full share in that which they do produce they cannot enjoy real prosperity.

So it behooves wage earners to use their political power to reverse the conditions of trade and industry that lead to the despoilment of the many and enrichment of the few, for such despoilment of the many is followed by a deadening of enterprise

that is not made good by a quickening of enterprise on the part of the few who are enriched, and so of course enforced idleness.

The power to reverse these conditions wage earners have in their ballots. Such power they have not used effectively in the past. Now the Federation of Labor proposes to avail of this power. Such action creates alarm among those who have used our railroads for their own private enrichment, it creates alarm among those who have profited from a dishonest monetary system that has impoverished the masses of our people. They who are thus alarmed see in such action an end to the gathering of fortunes by despoiling men of the fruits of their toil. And, of course, those whose purposes are crossed by this action of the Federation of Labor are displeased.

The establishment of an honest monetary standard that would release debtors from the unjustly increased burdens put upon them by the appreciation of gold, that would release producers from the pall of falling prices and stop the losses from depreciation of property would instill new life into industry. The doing away with discrimination in transportation rates, the insuring to all men of an exact equality at the hands of our railroads, an equality that would be insured by government ownership, would put a stop to the building up of certain enterprises at the expense of others, would cause the trusts and combines now supported by the enjoyment of lower transportation rates than their competitors to totter to their fall, would insure to all men an equality of opportunity in the marketing of their products, so secure to all men the fruits of their toil and give a great impetus to trade and industry.

This, the establishment of an honest in place of a fraudulent monetary standard and the establishment of our railroads as common carriers is what the Federation of Labor aims to help attain by political action. This attained industry would everywhere be quickened, enterprise would nowhere be chilled by the fear, the prospect, the knowledge that the fruits of such enterprise would be reaped by undeserving hands. There would come increased demand for labor and a demand not by trusts and combines but a broad demand springing from the growth of enterprises not rooted upon special privileges, then there would come competition for wage earners among those anxious to extend production, then wage earners would not have to resort to costly strikes to attain their just share in the products of their labor, then there would come less enforced idleness and higher wages.

The action of the Federation of Labor at Nashville has especially crossed the purposes of Mr. Gage. The convention passed resolutions particularly and specifically condemning Mr. Gage's currency bill as a bill calculated to perpetuate the gold standard and its evils, the national banking system and its evils. Recognizing the weight that these resolutions of condemnation must have, Mr. Gage vouchsafed reply, in which he clearly showed that the resolutions piqued him. He superciliously found fault with these resolutions because they were not argument—as if one usually looked to resolutions for argument. He took offense at these resolutions condemnatory of his bill as if they carried an impugnement of his motives, and defended himself against an impugnement which was not made, and by so doing threw a shadow upon his own motives. He finally declared his belief that what is best for the interests of one class is best for the interests of all, that if it could be shown to him wherein the gold standard has been or is injurious to wage earners he would abandon his currency bill and his purpose to perpetuate the gold standard.

That there is a harmony of interests between all producing classes, that that which will benefit one class of producers will benefit all classes, that an honest monetary standard will promote the interests of all those who seek to live honest lives, to accumulate wealth without doing injury to any man, that it will antagonize only the interests of those who deserve no consideration at the hands of the community, namely, those who do not produce

wealth, who do not engage in the legitimate distribution of wealth, but bend their energies to working out plans for preying upon the wealth produced by others, we readily admit. That Mr. Gage is open to conviction as to the injustice of the gold standard we can hardly believe. No doubt he is honest in his profession that he is, but he is blinded by his training, blinded by his surrounding influences, blinded by self interest.

If he is open to conviction he would only have to take two or three things into consideration to be convinced that the gold standard is injurious to producers. He would have but to consider that the wealth produced is divided into three shares, one to the creditor and landlord, one to the employer of labor, one to the wage earner, and that the share of the first is in great measure fixed in terms of dollars. Therefore, if money appreciates and prices fall so as to reduce the total value of the wealth produced the shares of the creditor and landlord must be increased and the shares remaining to employer and wage earner necessarily diminished. This must be admitted. That gold, like other commodities, will appreciate in response to an increased demand no economist of reputation will deny, that the demonetization of silver by the nations of the western world and our return from the paper basis of the war to specie payments made an increased demand for gold, is not open to doubt, that gold should have appreciated it is natural to suppose, that it has appreciated is shown by the fall in prices and its general increased purchasing power. And so the conclusion that the share of the creditor and landlord in the wealth produced has been unduly raised by our adherence to the gold standard, the share remaining to employer and wage earner unjustly and injuriously diminished. But you can't convince a man against his will.

MR. ECKELS AS A CONFESSED LAW BREAKER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN.

DEAR SIR:—If the law of gravitation, the most obvious of all laws, should be denied by one without education and little intelligence it would likely pass without comment, but should a supposed teacher of science do such a thing, his statement would be instantly challenged and the why and wherefore demanded. It would therefore appear when the Comptroller of the Currency, who should understand the national bank act, puts a false construction upon the law, of which he is the executive, he should be called to account. If the interview published in the *Philadelphia Times* of December 24th is correct, the present Comptroller is certainly a law unto himself. If he is correctly reported the Czar of Russia has no more autocratic power over his people than has Mr. Jas. H. Eckels over the national banks of this country. Most people have heretofore supposed that the law which created his office also defined his duties and that he was allowed no deviation nor discretion in the enforcement of them, and yet he claims to have known that a financial institution of this city which was compelled to close its doors last week, has been insolvent for the past two years. One of the reasons he gives for his neglect is, that had he acted otherwise, one of the political parties would have been injured in the last presidential campaign. In the meantime, state, municipal and trust funds, have been permitted to be deposited, one man to receive in loans not only more than 10 per cent. of the bank's capital, but almost its entire capital, all of which, as I understand the act, is in direct violation of the law.

All this Mr. Eckels acknowledges he was cognizant of and permitted because, had he done his duty, the party of so-called "honest money" might have been hurt. For the gentleman at the head of the unfortunate bank I have only the kindest feelings and greatest sympathy, he is a good citizen and helpful man. He is, in addition to being president of the bank, the owner of a great newspaper circulating largely among the wage earners of this city and surrounding country and has, honestly no doubt, supported the gold standard in his paper. To the same political party belongs the Comptroller and as he has acknowledged that political considerations was one of the moving causes for his

leniency to this institution it is a perfectly fair construction to put upon his action that had this newspaper advocated the free coinage of silver during the last campaign, at least one of the causes for delayed action would have been removed. Mr. Eckels has been of those who have criticised most unsparingly all who have the audacity to differ with him upon this question. "Crazy and dishonest" have been the mildest of his characterizations of his opponents, and yet from his own admissions he has not scrupled to use his official position to shield a delinquent bank against the plain spirit and intent of a law that it was his sworn duty to enforce, in order that an advantage might be given to a financial system that he believed in—"Consistency thou art a jewel."

J. W. CAMPION.

Philadelphia, December 27, 1897.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Hawaiian Islands.

Hawaii. Our New Possessions. By JOHN R. MUSICK. Illustrated. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co. \$2.75.

For obvious reasons and whether the subtitle, "our new possessions," becomes a reality or not, the present is a most opportune time for the appearance of a book on Hawaii, and therefore particular interest attaches to this. Not only is the subject treated one of sufficient interest in itself, but the very dearth of reliable information regarding the Sandwich Islands and the consequent general ignorance which prevails regarding them, all go to whet the appetite for anything that will increase our knowledge and so help us to a better understanding of the subject. Mr. Musick visited the islands and made an extensive tour of them with the purpose of preparing this book. He describes their physical appearance and the conglomerate population that inhabits them, tells of their wonderful natural fertility and gives a history of them from traditionary times up to the present. The American people are naturally most interested, as they are now most concerned, in the present condition of the islands, the relation they bear to the United States, and the reasons for and against annexation. It will be in this connection that most will read the book, which has evidently been written with just this expectation. Personally, Mr. Musick favors annexation. Now briefly, what do we learn from him on these points?

Although to the entire population they bear but a small numerical proportion, about 3,000 out of 109,000, the Americans are clearly dominant in the Hawaiian Islands. Their impress is everywhere apparent, to them has been primarily due every advance that has occurred, they have furnished the energy, the intelligence, the ability that has made the Sandwich Islands what they are to-day. They brought about the division of land between rulers and ruled, they overthrew the monarchy, they founded the republic, practically they are the republic. Therefore when we deal with these islands now we are dealing with Americans. The natives, apparently, are largely, if not quite, indifferent to all developments, and as for the 46,000 Japanese and Chinese, they are of importance only as presenting a troublesome internal question whose solution is beset with many difficulties, except as the Japanese give a plausible pretext for forceful interference by Japan with the object of securing possession of the islands. To those native Hawaiians who take the oath of allegiance to the Republic the franchise is extended, and they have been given many public offices, partly it would seem for politic reasons. The disturbing influence is the English population, some 2,200, the Germans, generally, standing with the Americans. The Portuguese are plantation laborers. Thus are we forced to the conclusion that the Republic of Hawaii is little more than an oligarchy consisting of a mere handful of the population. But that the existing government is doing more for the prosperity of the entire population, more to develop industrial activity than any that has preceded it seems from the view we are given equally true. Prior to 1848 there existed a feudal system under which the people had no rights, were secure in no property. In that year the distribution of land above referred to was made. Approximately one tenth of it—that along the coast and the most productive—was divided among the people. It is since then that the development of the country has taken place, but the impression we gather is that this has been due to the enterprise and industry of exotics aided by the great natural

resources of the islands, and not to the natives, who are pictured as possessed of little average push, except when they turn to fishing. From this it must not be inferred that there are not some full-blooded Kanakas who have made places for themselves.

There is much between the covers of this volume that is of interest and value of which space forbids mention. But of one thing we will speak. The time-honored story regarding the death of Capt. Cook, who discovered the islands in 1778, is stated to be a myth. He and his dissolute sailors when they first came were treated with ready kindness by the natives, and it was only after this generous hospitality had been shamefully abused that the Hawaiians made objection to the white men. In a melee Capt. Cook, with a number of his men, was killed, but he was not eaten. Indeed, the Hawaiians seem never to have practised cannibalism, although tradition is authority for the statement that at one time the islands were visited by cannibals who maintained themselves for a time and were then driven off.

Written as a book of travel it is fair that considerable latitude be allowed the author, still we cannot but think that a little less of the purely personal and a judicious boiling down would have added materially to the value of the book and at the same time greatly relieved the reader. For example. It is always rather difficult for an outsider to take an active interest in the domestic affairs of others, and the most sympathetic housewife in America can scarcely be expected to extend sympathy to an unknown sister in Kauai who is endeavoring to train a green Jap, even though he does promise to be a jewel. Neither can we particularly appreciate a very commonplace dream that the author recounts. Then, too, there may have been a deep significance in a certain literary discussion between the author and a companion on a ride, but the light it throws on Hawaii is so deep that we fail to perceive it. It is also a little exasperating to have the names of guides and inn-keepers forced upon us when our memories are already burdened and our tongues sorely tried with other Hawaiian names. Then it is rather tedious to have to read some yarns of adventure told to enliven a voyage or an evening. It is convenient to have in an appendix the text of the proposed annexation treaty, etc., but to many, full and reliable statistical information regarding Hawaii would have been much more useful, especially as in this respect the text is unsatisfactory. The many illustrations are a feature and a valuable one of the book.

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A Few of Our Native Animals.

Wild Neighbors. Out Door Studies in the United States. By ERNEST INGERSOLL. Illustrated. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.50.

Among all our wild neighbors none have found more friends and careful biographers than that great class in feathers, but while we have every assistance to become intimately acquainted with the birds there is another great class of animals, still higher in the scale of life than they, which has been so much neglected and received comparatively such scant recognition that most of us are sadly ignorant regarding it. But at last appears a friend in court who pleads so eloquently for the mammals, giving such a clear insight into their lives and so bright a picture of them, that as we listen we realize how they have been slighted, yet, in our interest, almost forget it. In "Wild Neighbors" Mr. Ingersoll gives accounts of a few North American mammals, among them the puma, coyote, badger, skunk, raccoon, woodchuck, porcupine and squirrel. It is seldom that one finds more interesting and instructive animal biographies than those contained in this book, and the reader's greatest regret will be that there are but ten chapters. One of the most instructive is that on "The Badger and his Kin," which more than any other brings a realization of the extensive animal life that can and does exist all unknown to us. By far the most entertaining account is that of the woodchuck or ground-hog with which many are most familiar as the little animal which tradition tells comes out in spring and looks for his shadow, seeing which he must return again to slumber. Whether we believe this or not we cannot but enjoy this account of the woodchuck, even should we care nothing about him, for in it Mr. Ingersoll gives free scope to a vein of comic humor which is very exhilarating.

An interesting chapter is that on the skunk, whose reputation extends even further than that which has made it so notorious. Aside from the large information we get relative to its habits and to prove its usefulness from the purely economic standpoint, the disagreeable battery apparatus is explained anatomically, together with its working in action, and its uses and disadvantages discussed. Mr. Ingersoll evidently thinks that the disadvantages of the accomplishment exceed the advantages, considered of

course from the skunk's standpoint, and after having spoken of these, he writes: "It remains a question, therefore, whether the possession of this ability is not a disadvantage rather than a help to the animal; and whether in the process of development the influences of natural selection have not freed the other Mustelidae from it, as an incumbrance, rather than have developed it to a high degree in this species as an advantageous accessory." Now, we would ask, how can the same process which frees one animal from a disadvantageous character develop a disadvantageous character in another? Further, where is there an instance of any animal or plant possessing a detrimental or useless part that has not been inherited by it from some ancestor, to which, differently environed, it was of use? From what we here read of the skunk we find that its scent secretion is employed only as a means of defense, and even then as a last resort. Because it fails in this in some, or even possibly in most cases, is no reason, so far as we can see, to question its obvious purpose as a weapon of defense. It is intentionally used for nothing else, not even to assist individuals of its own species in locating each other. Where the scent glands become over-charged through prolonged disuse and it becomes necessary to relieve them, the animal takes great precautions to conceal the discharge. This, as Mr. Ingersoll says, is evidence that the animal appreciates danger might come to it were it thus carelessly to announce to the world its location. But the natural usefulness of the weapon is not disproven because it is not always best to unsheath it. It may have disadvantages, we frankly admit it has, but on the other hand, it is on occasion effective. If it was not and had not so proved to be on many occasions, to what can be ascribed the very evident reliance the animal places in it? In the chapter on "The Service of Tails" we find a little slip, where, in speaking of birds which use their tails as supports or props in climbing, the nuthatch is mentioned as one. This is an error, for these birds do not so use their tails, their sole means of support being their feet and tarsi.

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Baboo English Abroad and at Home.

Baboo Hurry Bungsho Jabberjee, B. A. By F. ANSTEV. Illustrated. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

The author's whimsical humorous "Vice Versa" book prepares those who remember it for any wild absurdity combining wit with sheer fun. This time his arrow is tipped with caricature, which may or may not be received with delight by the persons hit. The title will seem meaningless to many. Some twenty-five years ago the English public were charmed by the appearance and fluent speech of the then leader of the Brahmo Somaj, Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen. This was the reformed faith introduced by the famous Rammohun Roy, Sen being his successor. Since then many Baboos, a title equivalent to our Professor or Reverend, have studied and taken their degrees at English and Indian universities. The intellectual acuteness of these Hindoo and Brahmin scholars has enabled them to qualify for many important posts in India which used to be filled by Englishmen. Considerable jealousy and some friction has grown out of the changed aspect of the situation. Several highly educated natives, journalists, educators and members of the other learned professions have recently been arrested on charges of sedition. England has so large a supply of younger sons of the poorer aristocracy to provide for that this rapidly increasing competition of fully qualified natives is a serious grievance. The aforesaid embryo magistrates and civil officials fear that there will not be offices enough to go round if the dark-complexioned rightful owners are allowed to possess the land.

The typical Baboo, with whom the British public are now fairly well acquainted, sometimes as a social adventurer, as in this case (one or two have actually been put up for Parliament) is made the butt of this book. In the dearth of quaint characters, such as abounded when Dickens began his portrait gallery, it is no wonder that the complacent young Baboo should be utilized. The taste of it in the circumstances is open to question, but apart from that he affords no end of fun, and it is fair fun so far as mimicry of his stilted and superfine English goes. Baboo English is in its way as delightful as Mrs. Gamp's English or the comical Scotch English of the Crockett-Maclaren serious stories, and if he were a Britisher instead of a Hindoo the Baboo would rather enjoy the laugh against himself.

Mr. Anstey introduces his hero as a slightly impecunious new-fledged B. A. who proposes to honor *Punch* with a series of letters giving his impressions of London life. The notion is borrowed from Goldsmith's Chinese philosopher in the *Citizen of*

the World. The Baboo is also made to write as Mrs. Malaprop talked, and the cleverness of the jumble of high falutin' rhetoric with ludicrous blunders of phrase gives the book no slight practical value for a large class of our own writers whose ambition outruns their capability to produce good English. We have read pages in some of our popular novels and periodicals which might have been written by the Baboo, so closely has the style matched his, as in this random selection from his chapter on bicycling as a pastime.

"So I think it worth to direct public attention to the dangers of a practice which threatens to develop into an epidemical kind of plague, and carry the deteriorating trails of a serpent over our household families, unless promptly scotched by benevolent firmness of a paternal Government. Need I explain I am alluding to the now-a-day passion for propelling oneself at a severe speed by dint of unstable and most precarious machinery? It is now the exception which breaks the rule to take the air in the streets without being startled by the unseemly spectacles of go-ahead citizens straddled upon such revolutionary contrivances, threading their way with breakneck velocity under the very noses of omnibus and other horses and ringing the shrill welkin of a tinnabulating gong! Nay, even after the Curfew has taken its toll from the knell of parting day, and darkness reigns supreme, they will urge on their wild career, illuminated by the dim religious light of a small oil lamp! I possess no knack of medical knowledge, but I boldly state my opinion that such daredevilry must necessarily inflict a deleterious result to the nervous organisms of these riders, and, who knows, of their posterity? For no one can expect to have hairbreadth escapes from the running gauntlet continuously, without suffering a shattering internal panic, while catastrophes of fatal injury to life and limb have become *de rigueur*." The book is plentifully and well illustrated.

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Tramping the Sidewalks Hunting Work, Tramping the Highways Begging Bread.

Dan, The Tramp. By LAURA HUNSAKER ABBOTT. Chicago: Chas. H. Kerr & Co. 25c.

Here we have another effort to make the study of the silver question interesting and attractive. Evidently impressed that the study of the silver question is dry, tiresome, repellant, our author seeks to make it attractive by wrapping around the discussion the veneer of a love story. Of this character of story we have had a goodly number, far too many for the good of our patience, for a very indifferent set have been these economic novels. The zeal which leads to the preparation of such works is commendable, but from the day that Harriet Martineau set out to popularize the Ricardian political economy by putting it in the form of a dialogue—as tiresome as one could wish—down to the present, such efforts have, for the better part, met with but indifferent reception. And it is not to be wondered at. The weaving of economic arguments into a story is no easy task. It is a task at which most of those who have undertaken it have failed. The story is spoiled by being forced and stretched and twisted to bring in discussions on the questions of the day, the discussion is made disjointed by the framework of the story. And so interest is rather detracted from than added to serious discussion of serious matters by so wrapping it up with a story.

And the work before us is no exception. It will not tempt the laggard to a study of the silver question. He who has not the patience to study questions of great public import, who has not the energy, the enterprise, to prepare himself for the exercise of the duties of citizenship, and will not willingly give time to the study of the silver question, will not be trapped into the study of it by any such work as this. If, for entertainment, he turns to the book he will read the story, skip over the discussion of the silver question and interest in that question will not be awakened. The mere putting of quotation marks before long paragraphs, and prefixing them by "Dan said," or somebody else said, is not going to make passages, that are dry in themselves, attractive. And in the book before us we have pages of such paragraphs. The story that is patched in does not add to the interest, it simply breaks the train of thought of those who take up the book not for entertainment, but for study, and still stands little chance of attracting those who take up the book for entertainment into the study of questions they make a practice of lightly setting aside.

As to the story in the book before us, the scene is laid in New Mexico or Arizona. As to the characters, Dan, a young assayer at a silver mine, we find in love with the daughter of a cattle rancher. This is at the time of the repeal of the silver purchasing clause of the Sherman act. As a result of this repeal

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the mines close down, the young assayer is out of work. Still he marries, nothing daunted. He starts with his young bride on a hunt for work, only to meet disappointment. The upshot is that both soon return to the ranch, the young bride to live with her father, Dan soon to go on a tramp for work. A couple of years of hardship, distress, sickness, heart and other, follow both on ranch and for Dan, for ranchers feel the weight of falling prices for their stock. But at last Dan gets work, is reunited with his young wife, and the story ends as all good stories end, with young husband and wife happy in the present and seeing the promise of greater happiness in the future when silver is remonetized and the whole country prospers. As to our author's discussion of the silver question, the first aim of the book, her presentation lays too much stress on it as a miner's question. This, of course, follows naturally from the scene of the story, but why lay the plot in such surroundings as to magnify the proportionate injuries done silver miners, a single class, by silver demonetization and belittle the injuries to all producers? To do so is to put the silver question in its weakest light.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

De Quincey's Revolt of the Tartars. The Silver Series of English Classics. Edited by ALEX. S. TWOMBLY. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co.

The movement towards a better grasp of the masterpieces of great writers in secondary schools is already doing immense good. College English has been below par, students have been graduated while confessedly incompetent to write good, clear, correct English, to say nothing of literary finish. The remedy for this, and a very easy one, ready to hand, is to familiarize young men and women, while they are boys and girls if you catch them in time, with the writings which have won their fame by their literary merits. The present little book, paper covered, gives De Quincey's narrative of the Flight of a Tartar Tribe. The editor very properly prepares the reader for the vagaries of this great writer's method, and the overdone verbiage which spoils so much of his work, but De Quincey must be read by all who want to see the powers of our language at their height, and this edition shows them well.

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The Flowers of Life. By ANTHONY J. DREXEL BIDDLE. 90 cents.

Shantytown Sketches. Same author. 35 cents.

The Second Froggy Fairy Book. Same author. 75 cents. Philadelphia: Drexel Biddle.

These are three little gift-books, prettily illustrated and effectively bound. The first is a collection of short essays and verses on various topics, simply treated and with excellent feeling. Respect for the intent makes the reader pass lightly over such defects as the rhyming of "God's image" with "pilgrimage." "The Shantytown Sketches" are in dialect, Irish, darky and German-Jew being equally familiar to the author. They show the ready pen of the wide-awake newspaper man, and give promise of better work to come. Their humorous quality will ensure a welcome. Mr. Biddle's first Froggy Book won praise, and the success of hitting the fancy of the youngsters, for whose delectation it was written. This combination will please them just as much, and the illustrations by Anne Pennock, with the colored frontispiece, worthily match the text. The author shows unusual versatility and courage.

NEW BOOKS.

After the flood of what are called seasonable books, there comes a lull, and there is some danger of the overtaxed general reader losing sight of many of the better class of works that got submerged in the wash of catchy Christmas books. We propose to mention some of these from time to time, as being new books, though issued a month or two ago. Included among them will be some just published, or about to be.

THE MACMILLAN CO. have brought out "The History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government," 1670-1719, by Edward McCrady, a member of the Charleston bar, and vice-president of the Historical Society of South Carolina. Zola's new novel, "Paris," is announced, but it cannot be published until it has run its course as a serial, which will require some three months. Mrs. Schuyler Crowninshield's volume of West India tales will come out shortly, under the title, "Where the Trade Wind Blows."

D. APPLETON & Co. announces "Modern English Literature," by Edmund Gosse. This is to be the next volume in the Literatures of the World Series. It begins with Chaucer and comes down to the present time, exclusive of living authors.

GOOD ADVICE.

From a Friend, Often Saves Lives.

How many remedies are recommended to suffering persons by their friends. In a great many cases a cure is effected by a remedy recommended in such a way. Mrs. Frances M. Badgett, 819 New street, Knoxville, Tenn., was suffering with female trouble (catarrh of the pelvic organs). Pe-ru-na was recommended to her by a friend.



She took it and was cured. The following is an extract from a letter written by her to Dr. Hartman: "I suffered terribly with female weakness for two years. I took many different remedies, but they failed to cure me. A friend advised me to take Pe-ru-na after reading one of Dr. Hartman's advertisements. I got five bottles of Pe-ru-na. In four days after I began taking it I felt better, and in a short time was entirely cured. If it had not been for that medicine I would be dead now, for I kept getting worse all the time. I heartily recommend Dr. Hartman's treatment as the best in the world."

Dr. Hartman has written a book especially for women. It treats of the catarrhal diseases of women, and is of very great interest to catarrhal sufferers. "Health and Beauty" will be sent free by addressing The Pe-ru-na Drug Manufacturing Company, Columbus, Ohio.

Ask your druggist for a free Pe-ru-na Almanac for 1898.

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CLUB RAISERS, ATTENTION.

We offer good club raisers the largest Cash Commissions or premiums of any reform paper printed. The year 1898 promises to be a red letter year for good workers and you should get in line early. We want to reach a circulation of 100,000. Will you help us? Good pay and easy to get subscriptions. Every populist who is a populist knows the Peoples Party Paper. (Hon. Thos. E. Watson, Editor.) Every earnest populist wants it. It's the best and brightest of reform journals and accepted everywhere as the National Paper of the party. Write to-day for terms and samples.

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DODD, MEAD & Co. issue a "Naval History of the United States," by Willis J. Abbott, illustrated. Also Angus Mackey's book, "The Brontes in Fact and Fiction," a subject of ever increasing interest and seemingly inexhaustible.

LAMSON, WOLFFE & Co. have published a historical novel which promises to hold its own among the crowd of similar books issued of late. It is entitled, "Mademoiselle de Berny, a Story of Valley Forge," and is by Pauline Bradford Mackie.

The story opens in early May, in the year 1778, in the Green Tree Coffee House in Philadelphia. The chief characters are assembled here: Mademoiselle de Berny, her half-brother Armand, who is blind and is led about by a huge dog, their guardian General Stirling, a British officer, and Richard Hayward, an American officer in disguise, spying out the British conditions in the Quaker City for his chief, General Washington. Three of the characters are transferred to Valley Forge, where a pretty love tale is enacted. Washington and Lafayette appear in the story.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

NEW LETTERS OF NAPOLEON I. Omitted from the Edition published under the auspices of Napoleon III. From the French, by Lady Mary Loyd. Pp. 380. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$2.

THE FLOWERS OF LIFE. By Anthony J. Drexel Biddle. Pp. 88. Philadelphia: Drexel Biddle. 90 cents.

THE SECOND FROGGY FAIRY BOOK. By Anthony J. Drexel Biddle. Pp. 90; illustrated. Philadelphia: Drexel Biddle. 75 cents.

SHANTYTOWN SKETCHES. By Anthony J. Drexel Biddle. Pp. 64. Philadelphia: Drexel Biddle. 35 cents.

DEFIANT HEARTS. By W. Heimburg. Pp. 350. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.25.

THE ROAD TO PROSPERITY. A Treatise. By T. W. Wood. Pp. 78. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. 25 cents.

ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

Complaint is being made, and with good reason, of the stupid custom observed by the publishing trade in crowding their new books into the months of November and December. It is done in the interest of the counting room and not for the higher good of the reader and author. Perhaps there are a fair number sold as Christmas gifts, though these are mostly juveniles and fancy bindings for ladies' tables. From other points of view it would seem a mistaken policy to rush all the new books of literary merit in this holiday flood. It is quite impossible that every worthy book can be adequately reviewed in time for the Christmas season. The unskilled buyer too often chooses his book as many young women do, for the newest thing in bindings or because it is just out. A really good book escapes this class of buyer if it happens not to be reviewed until Christmas is passed. From now until April very few new books will be published.

Our bookstalls have had a gaudy look for several weeks from the multitude of picture supplements given with the Christmas numbers of English and French illustrated papers. Those issued by the *London Illustrated News*, *Graphic*, *Sketch*, and a few others, are quite large and really artistic triumphs in color printing. They require from twelve to twenty separate printings, involving technical skill which, when one has watched the entire process occupying the summer months, seems close kin to genius. In fact, the original painter of the picture has an easy job of it as compared with the task of the reproducers. These chromo prints, measuring say twenty-five by eighteen inches, go with the extra illustrated Christmas number, the letterpress of which is by favorite and high-priced writers, and yet the price of paper and picture is only twenty-five cents there, fifty cents here. The special number of *The Queen*, the leading journal for women, and perhaps the richest property of the kind in either country, weighs three pounds. It is finely printed on the best paper, costing one shilling, and only one cent postage in England.

The New York *Tribune* endorses the protest going up from all quarters now against the sham critiques of new books with which many so-called literary papers and periodicals are largely filled. It attempts to turn the point of the protest against those who make it. We do not admit the validity of the plea that easy going readers deserve to be fooled by writers who profess to serve the public honestly. It says:

"A recent writer complains of 'a certain lack of moderation

and discrimination' in literary journalism, which he thinks 'unfair to the reader who comes to the critic for guidance.' The plaint is a just one, beyond a doubt. Flabby good nature is the most conspicuous fact in the criticism of the day. But is it not time that the public had its attention directed to its own responsibility in the matter? The heedlessly eulogistic critic is bad enough. But we are not sure that he gives less than they deserve to the far more heedless people who read his silly works. Are they never going to make an effort? Are they going to fall in forever with the amiable assumption that they are quite unsurpassable blockheads? We should not be surprised to learn that half the nonsense that is printed about books every day of the year is written by men usually intelligent and honest, who write foolishly because they believe their read-

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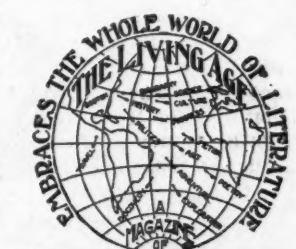
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FOREIGN PERIODICAL LITERATURE

"WITH ALL HER HEART." From the French of M. Rene Bazin.

Arrangements have been made for the SERIAL PUBLICATION of a TRANSLATION, made expressly for THE LIVING AGE, of this famous novel. The first instalment appears in the number of Nov. 6th.

This novel, in its recent presentation in the REVUE DES DEUX MONDES, aroused the greatest interest, both in France and England.

FREE. To all NEW SUBSCRIBERS to The Living Age for 1898, will be sent FREE the EIGHT NUMBERS of 1897 containing the first instalments of "WITH ALL HER HEART."

Published Weekly at \$6.00 a Year, postpaid. Single Copies 15 cents.

THE LIVING AGE CO., P. O. Box 5206, Boston.

ers to be stupid, and are too lazy to trouble themselves further over the matter. We cannot believe that the vast public supporting cheap criticism is entirely blind. It must have inklings of better things, and ought to help in the campaign against excessive good nature, which means excessive stupidity, in criticism."

**

There is announced two series of Oxford and Cambridge college histories. The Oxford series will consist of twenty-one and the Cambridge series of eighteen volumes. Each book will be written by some one connected with the college of which it treats, and will contain a history of the college from its foundation, history of its buildings, etc.

**

Ambassador Hay is more than upholding the reputation of our representatives at the Queen's Court for brilliant speechmaking. There is a difference between oratory and the speechmaking which most impresses an English audience. Lowell had this gift in a high degree. He was always able to get off a thoroughly well-prepared speech with the easy air of an impromptu talk, and his gaiety would have made ordinary material pass for sparkling wit. Col. Hay combines gravity and humor in a fashion peculiar to himself. His addresses on Scott and now on Omar Khayyam disclose powers unsuspected in even his varied equipment. The latter is a model of purely literary oratory, scholarly, eloquent, strong in common sense, and, while full of dignity, as unpretentious as could be desired. If he goes on speaking on this high level he will leave a monument that will do honor to his country and to his carefully cultivated art.

**

The obituary notices of Alphonse Daudet in the newspapers give an idea of the popularity of French novels in this country. Leaving morals aside, as so many of them do, it is not particularly gratifying to reflect on this sign of the times. The French novelist is, or wishes to be thought, an artist, one of the photographic order mostly, with an eye trained to ape the microscope and a pen which imitates the tympanum of the telephone. Now, human nature being what it is, and time not being eternity, we are much better off in not seeing so deeply into common things as the microscope does, and not hearing nasty people think, as these writers want us to. For such as have to go to books for second-hand knowledge of human nature there are five hundred first-rate novels in the English language, written by clean, healthy, genial English and American men and women, in which real human nature can be studied with the best results. It has

almost got to this, at last, that the open-eyed purchaser of the typical French novel confesses by his act that wholesome folks, living good lives, no longer interest him.

**

Mark Twain has just made a payment of 25 per cent. of his liabilities as Webster & Co., to his creditors. The failure was in 1894, and 28 per cent. was realized out of the assets of the firm and Mr. Clemens' personal estate. He raised this to 50 per cent. last year, with which the creditors were willing to be satisfied. Now, however, 75 per cent. of his indebtedness has been wiped out and within four years he expects to pay in full. He will then be sixty-eight years old, and everyone will wish him a long and sunny evening of contented repose after his day of hard work.

**

"Walking up Putney Hill one day this week," says a correspondent of the *British Weekly*, "I became aware that a quaint figure marching before me in a thin black suit and wide-awake was none other than Algernon Charles Swinburne. In spite of a steady drizzling rain the poet carried no umbrella, but with his hands plunged deep in his pockets, and his soft felt hat well pulled down on his somewhat scanty gray hair, took his 'constitutional' with a complete disregard of the weather. As is well known, Mr. Swinburne occupies a narrow semi-detached house at the foot of the hill with his friend, Mr. Watts Dunton. At this same house Rossetti was a frequent visitor, and some wonderful pictures by the poet artist adorn its walls."

**

Among the exceptional prices reached in the sale of the Ashburnham Library, a new record was made in Caxtons, being £2,100 for "The Book of Jason," 1477, which is £150 more than "King Arthur" fetched a few years ago. Twice during the present century this identical copy of Jason changed hands for less than a hundred pounds.

**

Alderman Moloney, of Melbourne, Australia, is a magnificent orator, as this passage proves: "When under the glowing sunshine of federation the congealed springs of our national activity and the frosted-over rivulets of our national industry shall have thawed, they will come leaping down from the hills to water and fertilize and make green and gracious the plains and the meadows smiling below; and I am persuaded that after that day we shall have a restored prosperity the like of which these separate colonies have never known."

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